RRR
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Invade the World

by Murray N. Rothbard

When Communism and the Soviet Union collapsed several years ago, it seemed evident that a massive re-evaluation of American foreign policy had to get under way. For the duration of the Cold War, U.S. foreign policy was simply a bipartisan interventionist crusade against the Soviet Union, and the only differences were precisely how far the global intervention should go.

But when the Soviet Union fell apart, a rethinking seemed absolutely necessary, since what could form the basis of U.S. policy now? But among the intellectual pundits and elites, the molders of U.S. and even world opinion, virtually no rethinking has occurred at all. Except for Pat Buchanan and us paleos of the John Randolph Club, U.S. foreign policy had proceeded as usual, as if the Cold War collapse never happened. How? Buchanan and the "neo-isolationists" urged that American intervention be guided strictly by American national interest. But the liberal/neocon alliance, now tighter than ever before [now that Soviet Communism, which the neocons were harder on, has disappeared], pretended to agree, and then simply and cunningly redefined "national interest" to cover every ill, every grievance, under the sun. Is someone starving somewhere, however remote from our borders? *That's* a problem for our national interest. Is someone or some group killing some other group anywhere in the world? *That's* our national interest. Is some government *not* a "democracy" as defined by our liberal/neocon elites? *That* challenges our national interest. Is someone committing Hate Thought anywhere on the globe? *That* has to be solved in our national interest.

And so every grievance everywhere constitutes our national interest, and it becomes the obligation of good old Uncle Sam, as the Only Remaining Superpower and the world's designated Mr. Fixit, to solve each and every one of these problems. For "we can-

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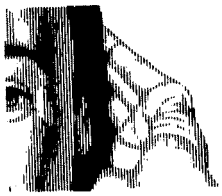

THE EAR

by Sarah Barton

Howard Stern has dropped out of the Libertarian Party race for governor of New York. His official excuse is the court's recent refusal to exempt him from the financial disclosure law; as he says, his financial records are private and no one has a right to them. Fine, but Stern has tired of the race ever since the LP convention: he quickly became out of reach to his old friends in the LP, and he never lifted a finger to help the LP get the 15,000 signatures needed to put Stern on the ballot. Stern also did little or nothing to promote

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his campaign on his popular radio talk show.

The porno shock-jock was getting 5 percent in the polls, most of which came from Republican votes, so his withdrawal is a big boost to the Pataki campaign.

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It's early days yet, but so far Mario Cuomo's campaign is running like a dry creek, and it looks like he could be taken. One problem is that his new campaign manager, the famed founder of modern campaign management, Dave Garth, is not used to campaigning from the left. For years now, Garth has run a *comparatively* conservative campaign (Koch vs. his enemies, Giuliani vs. Dinkins), but now he is stumbling in running a campaign for the more leftish candidate. Not only has Cuomo accomplished next to nothing in office, he is stumbling on the death penalty.

In the meanwhile, the Pataki campaign has scared the Cuomo forces by hiring the famed, if shadowy, conservative "negative researcher," Gary Maloney. It was Maloney, a thirtyish former graduate student in politics at Oxford, who, working for Bush in 1988, knocked Bob Dole out of the box with his expose of Bob Dole's high tax record, and Maloney who guided Al D'Amato's successful assault of Bob Abrams in the 1992 Senatorial campaign. It was also Maloney, working for Kent Hance in the Texas gubernatorial race of 1990, who uncovered the peccadilloes of the colorful Claytie Williams, before that the heavy favorite in the race.

So tough is Maloney that, while working the short-lived Ron Lauder campaign for New York mayor, his tactics drove even Roger Ailes to resign from the campaign. Maloney worked for Lee Atwater and is a long-time disciple of Ed Rollins.

It's shaping up as a fun campaign.

*****

One sign that the Slick One may be on the way out is the shift in line of New York's Brit glamorpuss and trendsetter of intellectual fashion, *New Yorker* editor Tina Brown. Brown has fired the influential Washington columnist for the weekly, probably the No. One Clintonian lapdog, the infamous Sidney Blumenthal, who will now do occasional longer pieces and blah blah. To replace Blumenthal, Tina has hired *New York* Timesman Michael Kelly, who wrote the famed article of the *New York Sunday Times Magazine* on "Saint Hillary." The article, which drove Hillary and the White House staff up the wall, exposed Hillary as a musheaded religious leftist babbling on about the "politics of meaning" and changing the world.

The other side of the coin of intellectual trend-setting is holding up one's finger to the wind, and friends of Tina say that Tina has "decided not to go down with the Clintonian ship." Let's hope she's prescient.

*****

Judge H. Lee Sarokin, who ruled that a smelly bum had a "civil right" to stink up a New Jersey public library , has been nominated by the Great Pants Dropper to the U.S. Court of Appeals. And the Republicans on the Senate Judiciary Committee have rolled over for the appointment, with Sen. Hank Brown (R.Col.) actually calling this outrageous bozo "exceptionally bright, very articulate, and a stand-up guy." Maybe Hank should be "constitutionally" required to put the bum up in his home for a while.

*****

I am no fan of Ben Chavis, but will somebody tell me *why* it's anyone's business—except its members—who runs the NAACP?

*****

Thanks to *New York Post* gossipist Cindy Adams, we find that the *real* absolute ruler of the famed OJ defense team is the black LA trial lawyer Johhnie Cochran. In early August, Cochran issued an order to the entire team to shut up, to stop talking to the press or on TV. The next team member who issues a statement of any kind it OUT. This order

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includes the eminent "bookends" Bailey and Dershowitz, who, allegedly, received $1.5 million apiece for the hearing period.

*****

It turns out that one of the reasons that the three-judge panel booted out the disgraceful Whitewater whitewasher Robert Fiske, is that Fiske was a long-time buddy and business associate of none other than Bernie Nussbaum. Why haven't the press told us this before?

*****

Query: if the death penalty deters no one from crime, how come that Mafia death threats are notoriously effective in deterring witnesses from testifying? Is it because people take the Mafia a lot more seriously than the government?

*****

From a Canadian subscriber as to why, Reform Party or not, that country is in even worse shape than the U.S.: "We have no Buchanans or Sobrans or Rockwells or Rothbards or Dornans. We don't even have any *American Spectators* or *National Reviews*, let alone a *Rothbard-Rockwell Report.*

*****

I'm not a rock'n roll fan, but I'm going to buy a Paul McCartney CD. At a recent Atlanta concert, the former Beatle came out draped in the Georgia state flag, which incorporates the battle flag of the Confederacy. To a huge ovation, Paul praised the battle flag as the banner of freedom, and urged that Georgians protect their state flag from those who would "reform" it. The free press quashed all news of this, of course.

*****

The *New Republic*, which praised the ADL's fibs about the religious right as "tolerant and pluralistic," is having the vapors over a comic strip, and has to fan itself to keep from fainting. In an episode of "B.C." a caveman writes to a friend across the ocean: "Is it true that over there, you have freedom of religion?" "Yes," the answer comes back, "and if the hotshots in the black robes have their way, we'll soon be free of it altogether." ■

*(**Invade** cont. from pg. 1)*

not stand idly by" while anyone anywhere starves, hits someone over the head, is undemocratic, or commits a Hate Crime.

It should be clear that there is now virtually no foreign policy distinction between the liberals and the neocons, the Tony Lewises and Bill Safires, *Commentary* and the *Washington Post*. Wherever the problem is, the liberal/neocon pundits and laptop bombardiers are all invariably whooping it up for U.S. intervention, for outright war, or for the slippery-slope favorite of "sanctions." Sanctions, the step-by-step escalation of intervention, is a favorite policy of the warmongers. Calling for immediate bombing or invading of Country X as soon as a grievance starts would seem excessive and even nutty to most Americans, who don't feel the same sense of deep commitment to the USA as Global Problem-Solver as so the pundits and elites. And sanctions can temporarily slake the thirst for belligerence. And so it's sanctions: starving the villains, cutting off transportation, trade, confiscating their property in terms of financial assets, and finally, when that doesn't work, bombing, sending troops, etc. Troops are usually sent first as purely "humanitarian" missionaries, to safeguard the "humane" aid of the UN "peacekeepers." But in short order, the benighted natives, irrationally turning against all this help and altruism, begin shooting at their beloved helpers, and the fat is in the fire, and the U.S. must face the prospects of sending troops who are ordered to shoot to kill.

In recent weeks, in addition to humanitarian troops, there had been escalating talk of American "sanctions": against North Korea of course, but also against Japan (for not buying more of U.S. exports), against Haiti, against the Bosnian Serbs (always re-

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ferred to as the "self-styled" Republic of Srpska—this in contrast to all other governments "styled" by others? Jesse Jackson wants the U.S. to invade Nigeria pronto, and now we have Senators Kerry (D., Mass.) calling for sanctions against our ancient foe Canada, for not welcoming New England fisherman in its waters.

OK, the time has come to get tough and to get consistent. Sanctions are simply the coward's and the babbler's halfway house to war. We must face the fact that there is not a single country in the world that measures up to the lofty moral and social standards that are the hallmark of the USA: even Canada is delinquent and deserves a whiff of grape. There is not a single country in the world which, like the U.S., reeks of democracy and "human rights," and is free of crime and murder and hate thoughts and undemocratic deeds. Very few other countries are as Politically Correct as the U.S., or have the wit to impose a massively statist program in the name of "freedom," "free trade," multiculturalism," and "expanding democracy."

And so, since no other countries shape up to U.S. standards in a world of Sole Superpower they must be severely chastised by the U.S., I make a Modest Proposal for the only possible consistent and coherent foreign policy: the U.S. must, very soon, Invade the Entire World! Sanctions are peanuts; we must invade every country in the world, perhaps softening them up beforehand with a wonderful high-tech missile bombing show courtesy of CNN.

But how will we Look in the Eyes of World Opinion if we invade the world? Not to worry; we can always get the cover of our kept stooges in the UN, NATO, or whatever. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, who is already reneging on his agreement to run for only one term as UN Secretary-General, is perfect for the job; no more power-hungry UN official has ever existed. But what about the Security Council? That's OK, because we can always buy off the abstention of China or whoever for a few billion. No problem.

There is not a single country in the world which, like the U.S., reeks of democracy and "human rights."

And then the whole world will subsist under the US and UN flags, happy, protected, free of crime and poverty and hate. What could be more inspiring?

A few isolationist, narrow-minded, selfish, callous, and probably anti-Semitic gripers, however, are bound to complain. They like to talk about various "lessons," for example, Somalia. They like to say: well sure we can get in and "win" easily, but how do we get out? What are our success criteria for the mission? In order to fix up democracy, genocide, poverty, hate, etc., we the United States, must create the country's infrastructure, set up and train its entire army and police (preferably in the U.S.). We must teach the benighted country about freedom and free elections, create its two Respectable political parties, and begin with a massive multi-billion dollar aid program to make everyone healthy, wealthy, and wise, provide an educational program (replete with dropping huge bags of food by plane so CNN can do handsprings—even if some of the "helped" are killed by the bags), outlaw smoking and junk food, and feed them all with tofu and organically grown mangoes.

But what about the Getting Out Party? What about our universal experience that when U.S. troops get out, the whole aid, infrastructure, etc. go down the drain? The solution is simple, though it had been far overlooked because some narrow-minded selfish fascist stick-in-the-muds will raise a fuss. The solution: We

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Don't Get Out! Ever. So we don't have to worry about preparing the natives for transition. We should stay in there and cheerfully Run the World. Permanently, For the good of all. A Paradise on Earth. We can call it, the "politics of meaning."

But how will we have the manpower to do the job of occupying? Don't worry about it. In the first place, we can have a 20-million man and woman army, suitably gayized and feminized and Politically Corrected, marching in there with food packages, medicines and hypodermics in one hand, and guns and condoms clutched in the other. We've got plenty of manpower options; we could bring back the draft, we could restore the Peace Corps, and/or we can set up a huge Buckley-Clinton type National Service program, where kids "pay back society" by spending two healthful, fun-filled, maturing years setting up infrastructure in Zaire or Haiti or North Korea. With this program, the kids could "pay back" the Earth. What? You say that some of our kids might pick up diseases or get shot along the way? Well, that's OK, because, as they say these days, every failure is a "learning experience."

And then, of course, the USA will only provide the backbone of the permanent forces of World Occupiers. The rest of the slots will be filled by troops from every other world country, headed by the UN, NATO, etc., providing equally healthful and joyful experience for other occupiers: Zairians, Ukrainians, Vietnamese, etc. To see Vietnamese troops, for example, occupying Holland, would provide instructive and globally democratic lessons in multiculturalism and mutual love of all peoples. The hard-core narrow-minded will of course have to be dealt with severely, but I am confident that massive educational programs, orientation courses, teachers, books and pamphlets, etc. will change the common climate of ethnic hate to love and understanding. In addition to teachers, hateful and undemocratic attitudes will be stamped out by a legion of shrinks, therapists, counselors, etc.

How will all this be financed? Every nation will, of course, contribute its "fair share" of expenses, but since the U.S.A. is the world's Only Superpower, we must face the fact that the U.S. will have to be paying the lion's share—maybe 80 to 90 percent—of the program.

And of course there are always narrow-minded, backward, selfish dogmatists, who will balk at this program, and claim that it is too "costly." There are always a few rotters who know the price of everything and the value of nothing. But again: not to worry. There will be a massive transpartisan educational effort, from all parts of the spectrum, from the Clintonian or Jacksonian Left to the dozens of self-proclaimed "free-market" think-tanks, who, suitably financed by government and by corporate elites, will pour forth tomes instructing us that the program will "pay for itself;" that it is in the best tradition of the Free Market and Democracy; that these expenses are not really costly because they constitute "investment in human capital" and will therefore *save* the taxpayers money in the long run, etc. Thus, clearing up all the hookworm in the world will so reduce medical costs that we will all be paying *less* money. Eventually.

Any residue of complaint, any who survive this educational effort—and let's face it, there are a few rotten apples in every barrel—will be sent to "educational retraining centers," where their objections will be put to rest, and, after a few healthful years in these camps, chopping logs and reading the collected works of left, liberal, neocon, and Pragmatic Libertarian pundits, I am sure that they will emerge, happily adjusted, to the Brave New Global Democracy of tomorrow.

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The above presents the consistent implications of our persistent policy of intervention, and it outlines the system toward which this country has been tending.

The question is: How do we derail this trend? How do we Take it Out? How do we prevent "1984"? Unfortu-

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nately, the Republican Party, while significantly better than the Democrats on domestic policy, has been, if anything, worse and more interventionist on foreign affairs. Note the Republican take on Slick Willie: they accuse him of bumbling, evasion, continual changes of line (all true), but except on Haiti, they don't really oppose intervention *per se*. Sure, it would be nice to have a clear-cut, consistent foreign policy, but clear-cut in *what* direction? A clear-cut Enemy is not exactly an unmixed blessing.

Meanwhile, things are far from hopeless. There is both an anti-war and paleo-grass roots ferment in this country that is heartwarming. There are all sorts of manifestations: Conservative Citizens Councils, county militia movements, sheriffs who refuse to enforce the Brady Bill, rightist radio talk show hosts, lack of enthusiasm for American troops getting killed in Somalia or Haiti, a Buchananite movement, and increasingly good sense on this question from syndicated columnist Robert Novak. Meantime, the least we at *RRR* can do is accelerate the Climate of Hate in America, and hope for the best. ■

The New York Political Circus

by M.N.R.

For political junkies like myself there is nothing quite so bracing as the tangle, the complexity, the ethnopolitics, the back-stabbing, and the downright sleaze of New York politics in an election year. The state elections laws establish, for each primary, a state convention in late May, or early June, followed by a primary in September. A party convention endorsement carries more than moral or financial clout; one crucial clause mandates that a losing candidate for a state post gets automatically on the ballot in the party's September primary, *provided* that he gets at least 25 percent of the vote at the convention. Getting anything less than the magic 25 percent means that the poor candidate can only get on the primary ballot via petition, a route which, in New York, has been deliberately made arcane and extremely difficult by the state's ruling political class. Going the petition route costs a great deal of time, money, and energy, and only someone with the unlimited funds or support of Ross Perot in 1992 never has to worry about the process.

There is nothing quite so bracing as the tangle, the complexity, the ethnopolitics, the back-stabbing, of New York Politics.

1994 is an election year for all the major New York posts: Governor and Lieutenant-Governor, Comptroller, and Attorney-General in the executive branch, and U.S. Senator. All these plum jobs are now in Democrat hands, and the Republicans, rising up throughout the nation in this horrible Age of Clinton, have been feeling their oats this year. Unfortunately, as usual, the New York Republicans quickly began their traditional mode of shooting themselves in the foot.

There have long been not two but four major (or at least quasi-major) parties in New York. In addition to the Democrats and Republicans, there is the Liberal Party, founded by Jewish Social Democrats in the Ladies Garment Workers and Hat Workers Unions after World War II to provide a Left-Democrat alternative to the Communist-dominated (now defunct) America Labor Party; and the Conservative Party, founded by the Buckley family to form a principled conservative opposition to the then Rockefeller-dominated, Leftist Republican party. Ever since, the Conservative Party, now dominated by Brooklyn Conservative head Michael Long, has been struggling between principle and pragmatism, with the latter, of course, all too often winning out.

This year seemed to present a golden opportunity to

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topple the famed three-term governor: the smart, eloquent, witty, alert, thin-skinned pretend-philosopher and Left Catholic lay theologian Mario Cuomo. A disciple of the late Left -heretical French Jesuit Teilhard de Chardin, Mario is the well-known expounder of the view that America (the world?) is an organic "family." The result is the sort of collectivist ideology one might expect from that kind of world-outlook.

Mario, however, has palled in office; New Yorkers are tired of Mario, of his lousy performance, the rampant crime, the high taxes and spending, the visible decay of New York in his twelve years of office. His coy and evasive performance every national election finally irritated and exhausted his supporters after he finally pulled out of the presidential race in 1992. The Republicans sensed victory, and their theme at this year's convention is the plausible "It's all Mario's fault."

In 1988, however, Mario seemed vulnerable too, and the Republicans kicked away any chance of toppling him by alienating their natural allies, the Conservatives, by nominating the unknown and tom-fool leftish economist and former adviser to President Nixon, Pierre Rinfret. Rinfret, the only Nixon adviser who actually *believed* in price controls, proved to be a clown and a disaster on the stump, and as a result he barely edged out the Conservative nominee, Jewish academic Dr. Herbert London.

The 1994 lesson for Republicans, and for Conservatives, seemed clear: unity against Mario. But, on deeper look, the question is not so simple. For both parties, the question soon became: Unity at what price? How much principle would have to be abandoned?

Unity turned out not to be easy to achieve. For one thing, the two major Republican leaders, both Italo-Americans: U.S. Senator Alfonse D'Amato, and State Senate Majority Leader Ralph Marino, are ferocious enemies. D'Amato, the abrasive product of the notorious Margiotta machine of Nassau County, is the leader of the center-right of the party. As the champion of conservative forces, however, D'Amato is, to the say the least, a weak reed; if ever there was a politician who fit the word "opportunist" D'Amato would be it. Marino, for his part, is the leader of the Republican Left; a close friend of the governor, he might well be termed a "Mario Cuomo Republican."

As the Republican convention approached in late May, it was clear that the D'Amato machine was in charge of the delegates. Unfortunately, however, D'Amato could come up only with a hand-picked unknown, State Senator George Pataki of Peekskill. Running hard against Pataki was Herb London, appealing to the conservative elements of the party, and fresh from his sterling campaign in 1988. One of the critical issues in the New York right is the vexed abortion question; D'Amato had been pledged against abortion, but, his finger characteristically to the wind, he has begun to move leftward on the issue. Pataki, an economic conservative and a Hungarian-American Catholic, is pro-choice but opposed to taxpayer funding of abortions. London, an Orthodox Jew, is strongly anti-abortion.

Herb London came into the Republican convention with a pledge of something like 35 percent of the votes. If D'Amato had only treated his opposition with respect, he would have gotten the 65-70 percent of the delegates for Pataki, and allowed London to get his merited automatic spot on the primary ballot. But since no one, including his own state Senatorial constituents, had ever heard of Pataki, D'Amato didn't want to take the chance. As a result, D'Amato and his machine played hardball, exercising an unseemly display of political muscle, and managed in 24 hours to jimmy London's votes down to *just* below 25 percent. It was reminiscent of one of Clinton's one-voters, and all hands denounced D'Amato for being "thuggish," "disgusting," etc. Displays of political muscle should never be that blatant, for then they become counterproductive.

Herb London was justifiably livid. He felt he had been robbed, and he denounced D'Amato and the convention in no uncertain terms. But if

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London was permanently alienated, what would happen to the Conservative alliance (Conservatives were coming up with *their* convention in early June). London was threatening to run for governor on the Conservative ticket.

Something had to be done, but to D'Amato that something was all too narrow: buy off Herb London and thereby corral the Conservative Party line. I don't know what D'Amato had his henchmen tell London in the next 24 hours. It must have been a wild time, for at the end of it, Herb London had taken his place as a happy nominee for Comptroller on the Republican ticket for the fall. There had, of course, never been a smidgen of interest displayed by London in the Comptroller's spot; on the contrary, the popular Assemblyman James Faso had been running for the comptroller position for a year, and expected to get it. Poor Jimmy Faso was induced to take the fall, and to withdraw gracefully from the Comptroller's nomination on London's behalf.

Shifting, dramatically left-ward, D'Amato decided to discover... Women! Or is it "Womyn"?

The rest of the ticket engineered by D'Amato, however, was a slap in the face to the conservative principles, if not the Conservative Party. Shifting dramatically leftward, D'Amato decided to discover...Women! Or is it "Womyn"? Sex! For U.S. Senate against Daniel Patrick Moynihan (more later). D'Amato put up Bernadette Castro, who has no political experience, and is only known to the public for her longtime Castro convertible sofabed commercials. Castro favors not only abortion, but also taxpayer funding, and gay rights. While putting up for Attorney-General the little-known Italo-American U.S. Attorney for Buffalo Dennis Vacco, D'Amato's major publicity coup was selecting for Lieutenant-Governor under Pataki, the beautiful blond bombshell Dr. Elizabeth ("Betsy") McCaughey.

The conservativish Murdoch-run tabloid *New York Post* went ga-ga at this choice. Grabbing the heaven-sent opportunity to combine its two favorite things: Sex and conservatism, the *Post* ran a large picture of Betsy replete in clinging evening gown (from *Vanity Fair*), and the choice was particularly heralded by *Post* sob sister Andrea Peyser, who gushed all over the page: She's beautiful! She's blond! She's sexy! She's brainy! Isn't it wonderful how the Republicans have become mature, and now realize that brains and beauty can go together? And on and on.

The Brains of La McCaughey was attested to by the fact that she has a Ph.D. in political science (Ooh! Wow!), and is also a certified brainy free-market economist. The certification came from the fact that Betsy Baby is on the staff of the Left-libertarian/neocon Manhattan Institute, a New York thinktank. Not only that: Betsy wrote a celebrated article in the *New Republic*, attacking the Clintonian health plan for imposing price controls and medical rationing, and criminalizing the free choice of doctors by patients, whenever such choice breaks the decrees of the Clintonian Health authorities. McCaughey won the accolade of drawing bitter attacks by the White House, which McCaughey and Manhattan Institute justifiably treated as a badge of honor.

Brains, beauty, and free-markets too; ethno-religiously, McCaughey, like the colorless and virtually unknown incumbent Lieutenant-Governor, Stan Lundine, is an authentic WASP. The difference is that Lundine is a WASP from Upstate New York, where WASPS indeed abound, whereas Betsy is an Episcopalian from New York City, where such folk are virtually on the endangered species list. No one knew Betsy's views on social matters, but everyone assumed she took the Pataki line of pro-choice

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but anti-taxpayer funding; thus, she seemed to fit the new ideal Image for a Republican of the 1990s: "economic conservative" but (moderately) social liberal. All this and a blond too!

Thus, two WOMYN had gotten key slots on the Republican ticket, and the hordes of militant Democrat womyn looked at the looming Democrat ticket and they were not pleased. Cuomo, an Italian male; Lundine, a male WASP; Carl McCall for Comptroller, a black male from Harlem; and of course Moynihan, Irish Catholic male from Manhattan, for U.S. Senate. Where in the world were the WOMYN in their own Democrat heartland? The only possible female spot was for Attorney-General. After the hapless Bronx-based Attorney-General Bob Abrams had resigned to run for Senate and was roundly beaten by D'Amato, Cuomo appointed a fellow-Democrat hack from the Bronx, the undistinguished Assemblyman Oliver Koppell. Koppell, of course, had every intention to run for re-election, but he was opposed at the Democrat convention by two left dissidents. One was Queens U.S. Attorney Charles Hynes, an Irish Catholic who had won notoriety by persecuting alleged "white racism" in the Howard Beach incident. The other was a WOMYN, if not perhaps a *woman*, the beloved Jewish ultra-left-lesbian activist State Senator Karen Burstein from Nassau County, formerly from New York City. As a leftist and as a lesbian, and also in possession of an androgynous personality, La Burstein had a lot of brownie points going for her; and the organized WOMYN were demanding her nomination.

In its own quiet way, however, the Cuomo machine at the Democrat convention proved every bit as ruthless as the D'Amato crew among the Republicans. Charlie Hynes threw his support to La Burstein, who came into the convention, once again, with a pledge of about 25 percent of the vote; but once again, come the vote, she got slightly excruciatingly under the magic 25.

It was now left for the Conservatives to have *their* convention in early June. Among the Conservatives, it was Michael Long's turn to wield the Bludgeon. Long had determined upon unity under Pataki, and now that Herb London had caved in, nominating the entire Pataki ticket seemed easy. (Except that the Conservatives refused to swallow La Castro, and selected instead Henry Hewes, Senatorial candidate of the small single-issue Right to Life Party, which often functions as the conscience of the Conservatives on abortion matters. The Right-to-Lifers pose no real challenge to the Conservatives, however, since, if anything, their leadership is left-liberal on all questions except abortion.)

The principled opposition among the Conservatives was led by Thomas Cook, head of the Rochester party, as well as several other upstate county leaders. Cook looked desperately around for someone to run against Pataki. Michael Long, denouncing Cook's opposition, waded in with absurd rhetorical overkill. Cook, he thundered, suffered from a "Napoleonic complex," and Cook ruled by "force, fraud, and terror." Come again? Among the *conservatives?* Finally, after several biggies such as former Republican state chairman J. Patrick Barrett refused to run, Cook & Company fell back to support the unknown Robert Relph from upstate Watertown. Relph *did* get the requisite 25 percent of the delegates, however, and so at least there will be a primary challenge among the Conservatives.

Thus, the lines were drawn, although how many people will be able to make the petition route won't be known until later. Richard Rosenbaum, former New York State Republican Chairman and the booming, bald voice of Rockefeller Republicanism for many years, and long hated by conservatives in the party, issued left-wing denunciations of the Republicans, and threatens to go the petition route for governor.

We are left with the beauteous La McCaughey. Exactly *how* free-market, how much of an "economic conservative," is she? The answer, despite her Manhattan Institute credentials, is not very. Allegedly

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Our Gal against Clintonian Health, her phoniness as a free-marketeer was revealed by our own Lew Rockwell on a conservative panel on health. For Betsy turns out to be a strong supporter of *the* crucial plank of Clintonian Health: guaranteed universal access. In other words, her criticisms in the *New Republic* article were peripheral, not central. In fact, she was stunned that *anyone* such as Lew was, in this day and age, opposed to guaranteed universal access, i.e. opposed to socialized medicine. Betsy went so far as to accuse our Lew of "lacking compassion," which is, of course, the ultimate charge of every statist scoundrel.

If Betsy McCaughey's "economic conservatism" is mostly malarkey, how much of a "social liberal" is she really? Republican leaders were stunned in early June to find out that the beautiful Betsy did not exactly take the moderate Pataki line on abortion. On the contrary: they found, to their horror, that Betsy is strongly in favor of taxpayer funding for abortions. So once again: "economic conservative, social liberal" turns out to be a formula that merely provides a convenient camouflage for...our old buddy, left-liberalism, with an updated, blond and evening-gown patina.

At this writing, Pataki and the Conservatives are livid. Fred Dicker, the *New York Post*'s expert on New York politics, writes (June 6) that McCaughey has struck political professionals as a "prima donna" and "even more narcissistic than most politicians." Will it all be smoothed over? Will McCaughey back down? Or will she be dumped from the ticket after all the Hoopla? Whichever happens, the Republico-Conservative ticket is damaged goods, and it looks like another blown opportunity to depose Mario.

"Economic conservative, social liberal" turns out to be a formula that merely provides a convenient camouflage for...left-liberalism, with an updated blond and evening-gown patina.

And what of Daniel Patrick Moynihan? I don't want to disillusion any idealistic readers, but Moynihan is set for life in his Senatorial position. Why? Because he is a centrist Irish Catholic, touched with the requisite bit of blarney, neatly fueled by Irish whiskey. Centrist Irish Catholic Democrats who have the advantage of incumbency cannot lose in a statewide race in New York. In his first race for Senate, Moynihan beat out the then leader of the Democrat ultra-left, the loud-mouthed, big-hatted Jewish Congresswoman Bella Abzug by a very small margin. Once he squeaked through the primary, however, Moynihan was as good as elected, and this has continued ever since. Why? Because left-wing Jews vote heavily in the Democratic primary; centrist Irish and Italian Catholics are generally evenly split between Democrat and Republicans; blacks and Puerto Ricans vote overwhelmingly Democrat but don't bother voting in primaries; and Upstate WASPs constitute the mass base of the Republican party in the state. Once Moynihan got past Abzug, the Irish and Italians, who constitute the swing vote in the state, were bound to vote heavily for a centrist Catholic, and the pattern has continued to this day. In 1988, the Republicans put up virtually no campaign against Moynihan, and it is only the new liberal-WOMYN ticket that got them to surface this year. But in the Senatorial race, it won't matter a bit. Unfortunately, Moynihan and his rococo rhetoric are a permanent fixture in the U.S. Senate.

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There is nothing quite like New York in a year where a governor and senator are both at stake. One decision made by all the biggies in both parties: that they would not challenge petitions to get

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on the September primary ballot by candidates who were muscled out of the minimum 25% needed at the May convention to get automatically on the ballot. Why did the leaders of both parties make this decision? A sudden attack of fairness? Not hardly. Undoubtedly because it would look bad to the public in a tight election year.

In the latest *New York Post* poll (Aug. 10), Cuomo has a 9-point lead over Pataki (46-37) but this is by no means fatal, since a hefty 17 percent are listed as undecided, and Pataki's name recognition is still very low. Old-time Rockefeller Republican Richard Rosenbaum is running against Pataki in the primary by petition route,and the policy of no-challenge assures him of a ballot spot. Rosenbaum is clearly a stalking horse for Cuomo, timing his attacks on Pataki to coincide with the Cuomo line. Although he has virtually no chance of beating Pataki, Rosenbaum has adopted a cunning strategy to embarrass the front-runner. Under the tutelage of prominent conservative political strategist Dick Morris, Rosenbaum has maneuvered sharply *to the right* of Pataki: advocating very large tax cuts, budget cuts, and substantial privatization; and then calling for Pataki to unveil his own undoubtedly puny program.

On the other hand, the pull-out of Howard Stern from the race on the LP ticket, will probably mean a several percentage points edge to Pataki. In the polls, Stern ranged from 5 to 12 percent of the vote, most of which probably came from Pataki.

In the Senatorial race, "the Rev." Al Sharpton, clownish black radical, was muscled below his 25 percent in his challenge to Democrat Senator Daniel Patrick ("Pat") Moynihan. Sharpton is running against Pat in the primary, and with the newfound "tolerance" permeating the state, the bonafides of his primary petitions will not be challenged. There is no problem for Moynihan: his poll lead is a phenomenal 78-12 over Sharpton. But there is more involved. Sharpton is threatening, after losing the primary, to set up his own "third party" Freedom Party, to run someone against Cuomo in November; in particular, Sharpton expressly desires to punish the Liberal Party for endorsing Giuliani for Mayor last year against his beloved Mayor Dinkins. Sharpton wants Cuomo to repudiate the Liberal endorsement this year; of which there is a chance of a snowball in Hell. Moynihan is safe whatever happens; but if Sharpton actually gets the Freedom Party on the ballot, black defections from the Democracy may just cost Mario the governor's mansion.

Another fascinating race is for Attorney-General of New York State. Bob Abrams, previous holder of the office, fell on his sword in opposing Al D'Amato for Senator; he later resigned, and his place was taken by appointment only last December by veteran Bronx party hack G. Oliver Koppell. Since Koppell is running for election to legitimize his recent appointment, few people know who he is, and his most formidable primary challenger (under the no-challenge rule) is the tough, abrasive, ultra-leftist lesbian Jewess, former Assemblyman and former Family Court Judge Karen S. Burstein. Burstein has a unique style of grass-roots campaigning, a style that could only hope to succeed in sado-masochistic New York City. Burstein stands near a subway station, and stretches out her hand to greet the passing voter. When, as usually happens in New York, the mark rushes by refusing to acknowledge the intruder, La Burstein denounces him! "You know, that's rude," she snaps. "Would it hurt to shake a hand?" she yells out. Finally, Burstein proclaims to a reporter that as Attorney General, she will be obliged to transform human nature: "I've got to get these people better prepared as human beings. As Attorney-General, I've got to do something about this absence of civility." And you're the one to do this transforming eh babe? That's all New York needs: another "politics of meaning," a Jewish version of Hillary Rodham.

The latest A-G poll in the Democrat primary rates the race as very close: Koppell at 22 percent, Burstein at 19, and "anti-racist" Brooklyn D.A.

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Charles Hynes at 14 percent. Unknown former Asst. D.A. Eliot Spitzer, who's been running a lot of ads on TV, is only getting 1 percent of the poll so far, perhaps the least productive TV campaign ads in memory. The undecided vote is very high at 44 percent. Whoever wins the primary will face former Buffalo U.S. Attorney Dennis Vacco in the general election.

The final statewide race is over Comptroller; here, Manhattan black incumbent Carl McCail, will face Republican-Conservative Herb London. So far, in the early going, McCall is leading London by only five percent, 27 to 22.

Finally, a recent blow to the Pataki camp: former New York Republican chairman, the self-made millionaire [Avis] J. Patrick Barrett, has been denouncing the antics of the D'Amato machine at the convention, and has threatened to refuse to back Pataki, even if he wins the primary. Strange behavior for a recent Republican party chairman! But that's New York. ■

For Mel Bradford

by M.N.R.

I was happy to see *Chronicles* dedicate its May issue to Mel Bradford, who died last year. Appropriately enough, the issue contains a posthumous article by Bradford, "Donald Davidson and the Calculus of Memory," on the great Southern poet, and literary critic, and on theme of memory in poetry.

No one who knew Mel Bradford could ever forget him. An erudite scholar, historian and literary critic, Mel radiated kindness, benevolence, and good humor. The term "gentle giant" could have been fashioned for Mel. Combined with his pervading goodness was firm devotion to principle, and a great love for the South.

Mel Bradford also played a crucial role in that historic first coming together of leading paleo-conservatives and paleolibertarians at Rockford, Illinois, in December 1989. Except for Mel, no one on what was then "either side" had met anyone on the "other side." Mel was therefore the original bridge between the two groups.

No one who knew Mel Bradford could ever forget him.

I had met Mel Bradford some time in the late 1970s, when I spoke on some aspect of economics at the University of Dallas. Mel and Marie were there; I was amazed, in our age of academic specialization, that anyone from the English department would bother. I liked Mel enormously from that first meeting; any person would whose attitude had not been so corrupted by ideology as to believe that "the personal is the political." In those days of the Cold War, I had lost contact with most conservatives who were not economists, and so I valued meeting Mel all the more.

Then, in the first year of the Reagan Administration, I noted with sadness and astonishment that Mel, who was slated for appointment as head of the National Endowment for the Humanities, had lost the position as a result of a coordinated neocon smear campaign in Washington orchestrated by Irving Kristol. It was the success of that campaign, which resulted in the appointment to head NEH of the then unknown Bill Bennett, that inaugurated the dominance of the neocons in the Reagan Administration and in the conservative movement generally, and led, in response, to the creation of an embittered paleoconservative minority.

As an Old Rightist, I had always considered the neocons as once and always social democrats carrying on the old Menshevik/Trotskyite struggle against Stalin, but I

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was not yet wise in their ways. I was particularly dumbfounded that the neocons should win—among conservatives!—on the ground that Mel Bradford's principled hostility to Abraham Lincoln demonstrated that Mel was a "fascist," and therefore unfit to head the NEH. The Old Right had always regarded Abraham Lincoln as the premier "fascist" in American history, having brought to America a mass-murdering, centralizing, collectivistic despotism, a despotism that had permanently changed American life and politics for the worse. I had also remembered that, in the mid-1960s, Bradford and my old Friend Frank Meyer had debated, in the pages of *National Review*, both against the despot Lincoln, with the neocon political theorist Harry Jaffa. In those days, the idea of a "conservative" favoring Lincoln seemed bizarre, and I thought the Meyer and Bradford had far the better of the argument. It completes the irony, as well highlighting the decline of *NR*, that, a few years ago, Mel Bradford, a long-time and valued contributor to *National Review*, should have felt forced to break with that magazine because it refused to run a review of a book on Lincoln that it had commissioned Mel to write.

On reading about the success of the neocon smear campaign, I dropped a note to Mel, expressing my outrage, and said that *given* the existence of such an agency as NEH, he would have been the ideal person to head it. Mel answered with a very friendly and thoughtful letter, thanking me and admitting that he "couldn't find any grounds for the existence of the NEH in the Constitution," but that he supported it at the present time on "prudential" grounds.

It was the overriding fact of Mel Bradford's sweetness and goodness—the fact that he was the sort of person he was—that made his savage treatment at the hands of neocon barbarians so hard for any genuine conservative to bear. If the same unjust treatment had been handed out to any of the rest of us more suited to the cut and thrust of ideological politics, it wouldn't have hurt so much. As Tom Fleming writes in his fine tribute to Mel in *Chronicles:* "As a leader of the conservative coalition, he had been an excellent fighter on behalf of principle. His only weakness was that he was a very poor hater. He could get temporarily incensed against those who lied against him...but he could not bring himself to seek revenge and would not countenance it in his friends. As Paul Gottfried always used to say, Mel was too much of a Christian to make a good politician." It is a tribute to the paleoconservative movement that it began as an act of honor: in outrage at the way a wonderful person such as Mel Bradford could be treated by vicious Lilliputians who would then not only get away with but ride over Mel's beaten body to political triumph. Perhaps the rest of us are poorer Christians or better haters.

In any case, it was marvelous to have Mel Bradford there at the founding of the new fused paleo movement, and to have the benefit of his active participation in the meetings of the John Randolph Club. His contribution to our Washington meeting in January 1992 was particularly memorable. It was a final Sunday morning panel to a meeting centering around politics and the exciting new Buchanan-for-President movement. Political theorist Claes Ryn asked a crucially important question of the panel, essentially: "Why have you been spending so much energy on the question of recapturing the presidency and the federal government, when the major questions are cultural, and by the nature of government and of conservative criticism of government, it can't and shouldn't do much to reshape or mould the culture?" Mel Bradford rose and gave a powerful reply, in essence: "Yes, you're right, government can't remould the culture, but it can stop pouring in the poison, and allow the culture to heal itself." Stop pouring in the poison" is the crucial reply to Left-libertarian charges that paleos want government to run and dominate the culture. We owe that reply, as well as so many other things, to Mel Bradford. ■

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Rumor Unfounded!

by M.N.R.

A friend of mine recently heard, as solemn fact from a self-proclaimed reliable source, that I had become a convert to Catholicism. Amusingly enough, this is probably the longest-lived rumor in the history of the modern libertarian movement. As long as four decades ago, a friend waggishly warned me that I "was setting out on the road to Rome." The rumor is, as usual, not true, as in the case of most movement rumors that have not been sifted and published by Sarah Barton.

There is, through all the revelry, a serious point about the persistence of this rumor. For it reflects the inability of most libertarians, who are not only ignorant of but implacably hostile to religion in general and Christianity in particular, to conceive how anyone could possibly be an admirer of Christianity or the Catholic Church without being an actual convert. From a generation and a movement that knows little more about history or theology than The Inquisition or the complete works of Ayn Rand this comes of course as no surprise. ■

An American Spy in Washington

A Midsummer Nut's Dream

by Joseph Sobran

It's summer in Washington, and you provincials out there may be interested to learn that here in our nation's capital we of the power and opinion elites are preoccupied with just one thing: the O.J. Simpson case. My reaction to the amazing Friday-night slo-mo chase scene was that it had to be a Gergen operation. For three weeks, the Simpsons completely eclipsed the Clintons as the No. 1 talk-radio topic.

But things are getting back to normal, and our young president has given an interview on talk radio to complain of his treatment by talk radio, particularly Rush Limbaugh, and by the Christian right, particularly Jerry Falwell. In doing so Clinton reached new plateaus of self-pity and self-importance. He carped about "a constant unremitting drumbeat of negativism" and observed that the men who fought at Omaha Beach "did not die so that Americans could indulge in the luxury of cynicism."

Coming from a former military-loather who took pains to save his own skin, this was a pretty breath-taking charge—the suggestion that to criticize Bill Clinton is to profane the dead of Normandy. And Clinton isn't the only guy in town talking this way. You may have noticed that a lot of Washington's more solemn pundits, such as David Broder and E.J. Dionne Jr., are lamenting "cynicism" these days. But with people like the Clintons in power, cynicism is not a luxury, it's a necessity. And the same pundits who bemoan our cynicism are treating the bagging of that old rascal Daniel Rostenkowski as Sophoclean tragedy—the noble hero undone by a single character flaw: stamp-collecting. That's because Rostenkowski is their old buddy.

Clinton whined that Limbaugh gets to talk for three hours a day, and he, the poor little commander-in-chief of the mightiest forces in history, doesn't get to answer. It just isn't fair! But George Stephanopoulos hinted afterward that the Fairness Doctrine could just be revived, if things don't get fairer around here on their own.

Now: did this outburst, and this thinly-veiled threat, have the same result as Spiro Agnew's complaints about press bias back in 1969? Did the major media howl about the "chilling effect" on free speech, the First Amendment, and our endangered liberties? Not at all. On the contrary, the major media don't like Limbaugh and the religious right either. Some liberal pundits even joined Clinton and Stephanopoulos in denouncing them.

The establishment media and the political establishment, in other words, are closing ranks against the populist uprising and the

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populist media that are challenging the liberal-minority monopoly of power.

Why? Because the liberal establishment is in huge trouble. Its basic unpopularity is compounded by Clinton, who combines all the worst features of Nixon, McGovern, and Gary Hart. This fall the Democrats may face the sort of disaster Canada's Progressive Conservatives met last year: near-annihilation.

So the liberal-minority coalition is trying to save itself by portraying Limbaugh, talk radio, and the Christian right as a menace to the country. Their problem is that Limbaugh, talk radio, and the Christian right pretty much *are* the country.

Two major Jewish groups, the Anti-Defamation League and the American Jewish Congress, have just published assaults on the Christian right. Pardon my conspiracy theory, but these appear to be coordinated not only with each other, but with other liberal and Democratic attacks. Meanwhile, a similarly concerted attack has been launched against Limbaugh, spearheaded by Fairness and Accuracy In Reporting (FAIR), a left-wing group devoted to seeing that the media remain organs of left-wing propaganda.

FAIR has just placed an ad in the *New York Times* denouncing Limbaugh. (Talk about duplication of labor.) The ad lists eight of Limbaugh's "groundless assertions," which include saying that "most Canadian physicians" come to the U.S. for surgery; that nicotine's addictiveness "has not been proven"; and that Chelsea Clinton had to write an essay on the theme "Why I Feel Guilty Being White."

Well, I don't know about you, but it just scares hell out of FAIR that Limbaugh should be able to tell lies like these on the air without having his tongue cut out. Get this (my emphases):

"Given the millions of people who believe Limbaugh, it's no laughing matter that his unchallenged political sermons are packed with falsehoods...

"As Limbaugh's audience increases and his errors grow more grim [!], doesn't the *need for accountability* grow more urgent?

"All the stations that carry Limbaugh in syndication have a *responsibility* to the communities they serve. It is, in fact, a condition of their *licenses*. They can be *held accountable* if they broadcast falsehood.

"Let station managers know that you take Rush Limbaugh just as seriously as do his misled fans."

In short, scare station managers into dropping Limbaugh by threatening their licenses.

Now Rush Limbaugh, though nobody's fool, isn't exactly Russell Kirk. He represents what you might call entry-level conservatism. He's on the air, mostly talking in monologue, three hours every weekday, and it would be a miracle if he didn't commit bloopers. The ones FAIR has culled, though, are about the *least* frightening compilation of quotes ever gathered. Who *cares* if he exaggerates the flakiness of Chelsea's school?

But Limbaugh drives the left nuts. He does it with sheer, insubordinate irreverence toward every liberal sacred cow. He has America laughing at liberal propaganda, which abounds in lies far bigger than anything that passes Rush's lips. It's amusing that the National Education Association, whose very name is a lie, has decided to boycott the Florida Citrus Growers for employing Limbaugh as their spokesman.

Their problem is that Limbaugh, talk radio, and the Christian right pretty much *are* the country.

Amusing, and curious. Given that the NEA boycott comes at the same time as the FAIR campaign and the Clinton-Stephanopoulos bluster, a conspiracy

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theorist could get ideas. Especially when you notice that the ADL-AJC attack on the Christian right has also been echoed almost simultaneously by Clinton and the *New York Times*, which has run op-ed pieces attacking the Christian right on consecutive days by Michael Kinsley, Anna Quindlen, and Frank Rich.

What does the Christian right threaten us with? As far as I can tell, their hidden agenda is nothing worse than a return to 1954—a time when wholesome, church-going families were the norm, pornography was illegal, and violent crime was fairly rare even in big cities. If only that paradise could be restored! But it's hardly *frightening*, except to Democrats and pimps. It may be open to criticism as a nostalgic ideal.

I mention 1954 because that was when the Old America gave way to the liberal-minority coalition, which began feeling its oats with the censure of Joe McCarthy and the end of segregation. That coalition's power has kept increasing ever since, for forty years now. Is everybody happy? Do we all want forty *more* years of it?

In 1954 people like Limbaugh and Falwell were the majority and set the tone for the country. Now they're branded "extremists" by normal, mainstream specimens like Joycelyn Elders and Barney Frank, who think the country has vastly improved since then. Well, the country in 1994 is certainly more hospitable to the likes of Elders and Frank than it was in 1954. Draw your own conclusions. ■

Civil Rights for Gays?

by Llewellyn H. Rockwell, Jr.

When Barry Goldwater ran for president in 1964, I pounded the pavement for him, and donated money a college kid couldn't afford. Thus it's more than disconcerting to see him once again endorse a pillar of the leftist agenda. This time, he wants to extend anti-discrimination law to gays.

Goldwater claims to be making a libertarian case, but his unfortunate antagonism to the Christian right has led him into economic error. For example, he says discrimination against gays is "not just bad—it's bad business."

But if that were true, there would be no need for a special law. In a market economy, bad business practices are weeded out through competitive pressure. Discriminators who irrationally exclude would be punished by lower profits.

It would have made more sense for Goldwater to say that discrimination is *good* for business, and that's why we need a law. Pushing gay rights indicates skepticism, not confidence, in free enterprise.

But good or bad for business, no libertarian could possibly support civil rights for gays, for that would violate two fundamental principles of the free market: private property rights and the right of free association.

A free society tolerates all-gay workforces and all-straight ones too. Act-Up shouldn't be made to hire straights, and the 700 Club shouldn't be forced to take on gays. Gay rights wars against this genuine diversity by abolishing the liberty to exclude.

Advocates like Goldwater say that adding gays to the list of protected minorities doesn't legislate a special privilege; it only provides essential legal protection. But that's nonsense, as thirty years of civil rights policy has adequately demonstrated.

Forbidding discrimination "on grounds of" sexual orientation means forbidding a motivation, not an action. For it would be legal to fire or decline to hire a homosexual on some ground other than his sexual practices. How to prove motivation?

If an employer openly states his motives, there would be no mystery. A sign reading "No Gays Need Apply" would be illegal. But what if an employer said that in not hiring a gay, he was choosing a more qualified person? The EEOC and the courts would settle the question, further extending the labor socialism already wrecking the private job market.

The same problem has arisen with race and sex discrimination. The '64 Act did not make it illegal to reject a

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black man for a job, only "on grounds of" his race. Yet it is easy enough to disguise motives. For that reason, civil rights regulators count the numbers. Numerical goals, timetables, and quotas are the only way to enforce a law forbidding otherwise indeterminate motivations.

That's why the legal apparatus that gave us racial quotas would create a system of *de facto* homosexual quotas on the first day the law went into effect, despite all the promises to the contrary. Recall that every supporter of the 1964 Civil Rights Act promised it would not hamper the employer's right to hire and fire as he pleased.

Like all similar statutes, the proposed gay civil rights law doesn't explicitly protect homosexuals. It forbids discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation. Does this mean that a gay bar cannot reject a bartender's application on grounds that he's straight? And what if the bartender believes homosexuality is a sin, and wants to work there to promote traditional religious faith?

In the highly unlikely event the law were used against some official victims, the gay lobby would invoke the freedom of association and the right of exclusion, as it did recently in San Diego to justify the banishing of a group called Normal People from the gay parade.

Let's turn the matter around, in an infinitely more likely direction. A Catholic bookstore would not be allowed to exclude anyone for employment on grounds that he is homosexual. But what if the new gay employee began to seek recruits for his "alternative lifestyle"? Could the bookstore sack him, or would that be discrimination?

Congress better think hard about these issues before it caves into the gay lobby's demands. And libertarians should forget about trying to justify some anti-discrimination laws and not others. All all such laws are incompatible with a free society.

It's not just gay civil rights, but all civil rights that are contrary to liberty, for they empower the government to determine the manner of our public and private associations. Surely, preserving the remnants of the freedom to

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associate is more important than currying favor with a tiny (if rich and powerful) group that hates the rest of us.

If Goldwater wants to do something good for his country, he could write a defense of a real oppressed minority: employers. That's an issue a libertarian could support. ■

Stealing Futures

by L.H.R., Jr.

A boy works from dawn to dusk in rural Georgia, and he's only 13 years old. Child labor? Well, yes, and he loves it. This youngster sells delicious corn and tomatoes at a roadside stand, and he's so proud that the buttons almost pop off his overalls. He reads or plays when there are no customers, and his mother makes him rest after lunch, but otherwise he's selling.

Over the course of the summer, he'll earn more than $500 to buy his own school clothes and the new baseball glove he wants. Thank goodness one of his customers isn't Robert Reich. For Reich's Department of "Labor" is attacking young people's work. In the process, it has fined some illustrious enterprises $4 million and subjected them to a vicious media caricature.

The list of victimized businesses reads like a honor roll of entrepreneurship: Hardee's, Burger King, Publix Super Markets, A&P, and Winn-Dixie. All were bilked and humiliated for the crime of keeping kids off the streets.

Some of the most important lessons in life are learned in a job, whether you live on the farm or in the city. You learn to follow instructions, to be polite, to come in on time, to show up on the days you should, to serve the consumer, and to cooperate with others, as a market economy demands.

Most important, young people learn the connection between work and reward. The harder they work at the entry level, the more they will be paid, and the more responsibilities they will be given. This lesson is especially important for poor kids. It makes no sense, economic or moral, to cut them out of the market.

The drones at the Department of Labor don't understand this, of course, or if they do, they couldn't care less. So they impose whole libraries of arcane requirements on business.

Federal regulations say, for example, that a 15-year-old can't work more than three hours a night during the week. If he gets out of school at 3:00pm, he can work until dinnertime, but no longer. Then he goes home and hits the books, right? Or perhaps he gets involved in less-constructive activities.

What if a youngster wants to study after school, eat dinner, and then go to work? Big Brother says he can't. And what about a business that needs his the help? It can go jump in the Potomac. Even during July and August, kids can't legally work past 9:00pm.

Finally, the government won't allow young people to work for more than forty hours under any circumstances. That's eight to five, Monday through Friday. What's a kid supposed to do with the rest of his time when school is out? Go to the typical urban mall and find out.

Instead of praising American business for making young people productive, and enabling them to earn the money they need, the laughably named Labor Department jumps on them. At a time when we need to improve the economy, what surer way to discourage productivity and wreck the career prospects of a vulnerable generation?

Leaving economics for a moment, just who is supposed to be in charge of children? Parents or politicians? And what parents aren't pleased to see their children working instead of on the streets?

The government claims that it wants young people to be studying, i.e., absorbing politically correct myths from the government schools. But the state is not our parent, and it can never substitute even when the family fails.

The Labor Department pretends that by outlawing child labor, a free exchange between employer and employee, it is benefiting the public. In fact, it is subsidizing the coercive cartels known as labor unions. Unions can't stand the rivalry of young

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workers, so they promote child-labor laws to crush the competition.

Artificially diminishing the number of workers lifts the wages of those left. That's why unions also tout minimum wages, another way to outlaw employment. But all such interventions are unjust to the disemployed and to those who would employ them, and they also lower profits. Unions may like that, but what about our profit-starved economy, and the young people who want to get ahead by going the extra mile?

If the Clinton administration really wanted to move people from welfare to work, it would begin by repealing the child labor laws. Meanwhile, the hard-working 13-year-old in rural Georgia doesn't know who Reich is. But unlike Reich, he's not a parasite, and won't be, as long as the government lets him and his parents mind their business. ■

Killing Mortgage Companies

by L.H.R., Jr.

At one time, only banks offered mortgages. Then things changed for the better, and mortgage companies now provide more than half of home loans.

Yet these firms have come under attack because they aren't lending equally across all demographic groups. Liberal activists cry racism, and propose that mortgage companies be wracked by the same affirmation-action lending mandates that have bedeviled banks.

Mortgage companies don't take deposits or offer checking accounts, they just finance your house with a great deal of expertise. Being specialists, they can assess risk with precision, meaning resources aren't wasted and people who would otherwise not qualify are able to own a home.

But these firms, unlike banks, operate on thin profit margins. If they are forced to put special interests ahead of profits, the entire industry will be harmed, and smaller companies will go out of business. As a result, many Americans who deserve mortgages but don't have political pull will be out of luck.

Traditionally, mortgage companies have been more willing to assume risk than banks, compensating for this with higher interest rates. Like stores that issue revolving charge cards, mortgage companies have been attacked for "usury." But the equally ignorant charge of "racism" can do even more damage.

Unfortunately, ammo for left-wing assault weapons has just been provided by the *Wall Street Journal*, a paper whose news reporting is often as biased as the *Washington Post*'s. In an excruciatingly long story on alleged mortgage discrimination, the *Journal* calls for more government intervention in the economy.

At issue is how loans are marketed and approved. The *Journal* alleges that mortgage companies neglect predominately black areas. You know: the CEOs say, "Don't make money in that part of town. They're black."

But lenders don't grant loans to census tracts; they make them to individual applicants. The *Journal* explicitly ignored the particular credit histories of people rejected for loans. Neither did it adjust for their assets, incomes, and job histories.

Typical of the genre, the story also defined white and black areas by census tract, so if a neighborhood is three-quarters white, the *Journal* treated it as all white.

But upwardly mobile blacks often move to mostly white areas when they become the kinds of borrowers mortgage companies want to service. Yet loans to them are counted as "white."

Mortgage companies are failing in their social duty, we're told, because the big banks make many more loans in black areas. But in those areas, by the *Journal*'s own standards, 25% of the people can be white, especially in gentrifying neighborhoods. And loans to these white people count as black by this method.

Unmentioned is the fact that the big banks held up to

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us as models—such as Nationsbank of Charlotte, N.C.—have been forced into quota lending by bank regulators, in one of the biggest racial redistribution plans in history. This is no model.

Also unmentioned: by every variable that lenders consider important—credit rating, income, assets, job history—whites on average are better risks than blacks. And Asians are better risks than whites, although the story dissembles on this, saying that Asians "also face unequal results." It's unequal all right. They get *more* loans than whites.

Supporting this drive for "equal-opportunity" lending are the large banks, which is a disgrace. They wouldn't defend themselves when attacked, but now they're working to hamstring their competitors.

Instead of explaining this to us, the *Journal* treats us to sob stories. We're told, for example, of minorities unjustly rejected because they "had a car repossessed or once filed for personal bankruptcy." *Had a car repossessed?* Sounds like a great qualification to me.

To make sure that mortgage companies make such loans, underwriting standards should be "loosened" and black loan officers paid 50% more than white ones. As it is now, "the chasm between mortgage bankers and low-income black borrowers is palpable." The "mostly white salespeople" ask such discriminatory questions as "Does the buyer have sufficient funds to close this loan?"

It should go without saying, although nothing these days goes without saying, that low-income people—by definition—are undesirable credit risks. If the domestic poor want loans, let them work two jobs, pay their bills, and save their money, as low-income Asian immigrants do, and *then* apply for a loan.

Loans should be made on the content of our characters, not the color of our skins. But this dream can't come true so long as we exalt equality above good sense. ■

P.C. Watch

by L.H.R., Jr.

Academic Terrorism

Lincoln Herbert, a right-wing student activist, has been expelled from Temple University Law School for defending himself from an attacking bum.

Temple is a state-associated university in a very dangerous area of Philadelphia, and Lincoln has been mugged, say the police, three times in the area of the school. Once, the mugger tried to stab him, and he repelled the criminal with pepper spray. So when Lincoln was accosted on the steps of the law school last May by a homeless black man, who shouted and gesticulated and threatened to use a knife unless he handed over money, Lincoln used his pepper spray, which is sold in the campus bookstore. The man then ran after Lincoln into the school, and Lincoln sprayed him again. Unfortunately, some liberals witnessed the incident.

Hate crime! A white sprays a black—a white, moreover, who has invited such conservative speakers to campus as Paul Gottfried and Sam Francis. So, in an exceedingly rare edict, Lincoln was expelled, to the accompaniment of armed guards, as a "clear and present danger to the university community" by left-wing Dean Robert Reinstein. He will be arrested, unlike the bum, if he returns to campus.

Note that Lincoln had never been anything but a victim of crime, and that the previous year, a student was assaulted and badly beaten in the law library, and the school did nothing. Note also that the bum had no legitimate business on campus. Note too that even though it is a state school, Temple is refusing to abide by due process, to set a date for a trial under the student code, or to cooperate, as it is legally mandated to do, in sharing its "evidence" with Lincoln's lawyer. But then, the dean is clearly out to get a student who refused to conform.

As a result, Lincoln, who has done well academically, cannot be admitted to any other law school, so this action may kill his chosen career. His lawyer seeks, at the very

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least, temporary reinstatement pending his trial. The liberal dean says no.

Incidentally, the dean claims the affair could not be political because he offered help to student Eden Jacobowitz in the "water buffalo" incident at Penn. But Eden was never really threatened, by black students or the school, and is a liberal. Lincoln's case is a much more serious one for those concerned about P.C., as was the vicious attack on Penn student columnist Greg Pavlik, and which no neocon cared about, because he told the truth about Martin Luther King. As with Greg, leftists at Temple seek to destroy a young man's future because he offended the canons of liberalism.

Greg won, in part because of pressure on Penn's board chairman. Lincoln's friends are asking for protest letters to Richard Fox, Board Chairman, Temple University, 301 Conwell Hall, Broad St. and Montgomery Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 19122.

Heard It Through the Fibvine

At the lavish convention for minority journalists held in Atlanta by the national media, black ABC anchorwoman Carole Simpson told one of the usual tales of woe. At a colleague's farewell party several years ago, "an ABC executive came up to me and said, 'Where's your cap and apron, aren't you going to serve?' I was flabbergasted. I was a broadcast journalist with 20 years' experience.... He saw a maid who should be passing out hors d'oeuvres." (*Washington Post*, 7/29/94)

This is obviously made up. In the unlikely event an ABC executive didn't recognize one of the network's stars, would he approach a beautifully groomed and expensively dressed black woman at a work-related party and ask her to be a maid? If he had, it would have been a national scandal, and the end of his career.

Why Rwanda?

Wonder why the Hutus massacred up to two million Tutsis in Rwanda, chopping up even old people and little babies with their machetes? The radio made them do it, says *The New Republic* (8/22-29/94). Chants calling for mass murder were broadcast continually on the government radio, as "drums beat and guitars strummed a traditional African folk melody."

After all, says Rwandan official Bonaventure Ualijoro, the same thing would happen in the U.S. If "a very influential person with a well-financed propaganda campaign" told us to "kill all the rich people."

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No Whites Need Apply

A Louisiana farmer who won a "reverse discrimination" suit against the government has been told he can't collect because he's white. Larry Moore, a Vietnam vet on welfare, wanted a loan under the Agriculture Department's "socially disadvantaged" (SDA) program to buy some farm land. The Farmers Home Administration told him: "You have failed to provide proof that you meet the criteria of SDA. (No whites)." At which point, Moore sued, and won.

"If Secret Service agents not served a plate of eggs are entitled to millions of dollars, then my guy, who was driven to the very bottom of society, is also entitled to compensation," said Moor's lawyer, Cary Deaton. But a federal judge ruled he could not collect on his judgment because the "doctrine of sovereign immunity"—the king can do no wrong—protects federal agencies from lawsuits.

The Supreme Court has just agreed. "Conservative" Clarence Thomas said that if citizens could sue the feds, "we would be creating a po-

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tentially enormous financial burden for the federal government." (*Washington Times*, 8/14/94)

Endless Imbalance

Montclair, N.J., has "labored for integration" since 1968. But it turns out that while "the schools in Montclair are integrated, the classrooms, largely, are not," reports the *New York Times* (8/11/94).

Desegregation "stopped at the schoolhouse door," complains David Herron of the school district's Human Relations Council. "That's ludicrous."

Not only in Montclair, but all across the country, reports the *Times*, "civil rights groups" are unearthing "segregation within integrated districts." Remedial and special education classes are disproportionately black, and honors and advanced-placement classes disproportionately white.

Montclair, in response to black complaints, plans to begin eliminating the concept of "tracking," i.e., placement by ability. Tracking is racist, say blacks.

Civil rights leaders are especially upset over the composition of math, science, and special ed classes. And Carol Nunery, the school board president, agrees. "Too many black and Hispanic students have already been kept from achievement classes because of low expectations."

This Is *Criticism*?

"Forest Gump" is "downright reactionary," writes Max Lindeman of New York City to the *New York Times* (8/5/94). "The title character reaches prosperity through down-home values. His route is set against the way of self-destruction through decadence of character who are dedicated to social change or to fulfillment through sensuality.

"Although handicapped by an I.Q. of 75, Forrest succeeds through values he learned from his Southern churchgoing mother. He makes his mark on the American cultural landscape but is puzzled by the success of Elvis Presley and John Lennon, conscientiously reminding us of their untimely deaths. The purveyors of American pop culture are doomed without Forest's moral backbone."

His childhood friend, Jenny, "shows a rebellious streak by posing for *Playboy*, protesting the Vietnam War, and experimenting with sex and drugs. The result? She becomes one of the first victims of AIDS, but at least acknowledges responsibility for it ('I was sick,' she confesses)."

"Reversing 'Catch-22' and other movies that tried to expose the hypocrisy of the American mainstream, 'Forest Gump' portrays every agent of American social change since 1945 as a fool or a lunatic." Abbie Hoffman is "remarkable, in Forrest's narration, only for his fondness for profanity."

The movie "makes it seem easy to solve America's social ills by turning back the clock to an imaginary time when we were fed a strict diet of God, family and country, when nice girls didn't, and when the police didn't have to read you your rights." Yeah, and it wasn't imaginary!

Holiday Inn Bans Georgia Flag

At the request of Jesse Jackson, the foreign-owned Holiday Inn chain has banned the flying of the Georgia state flag at its motels. Why? Because the Georgia flag contains the Confederate battle emblem. In place of this historic banner, Holiday Inn hoists the appalling U.N. flag, reports *American Sentinel* (8/15/94). *AS* notes that Southern patriots have jammed Holiday Inn's toll-free reservation number (1-800-621-0555) with complaints, but so far, President Michael Levin has refused to repent.

What To Do

There are a number of right-wing populist organizations opposed to the crimes of Holiday Inn. One is Peaceful Secession, P.O. Box 2628, Monroe, La. 71207. Under the leadership of David E. Rockett, the organization seeks—in the tradition of the Declaration of Independence—to escape from the tyrannical central government, and its corporate comrades, through secession. Membership is $25.

Membership in the new Southern League is also $25. Write to Professor Michael Hill, President, P.O. Box

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40910, Tuscaloosa, Ala. 35404. The League, which just held a very successful founding convention, seeks to advance "the cultural, social, economic, and political independence of the Southern People by all honorable means." It also serves as a Southern Anti-Defamation League. Board members include Tom Fleming and Clyde Wilson.

An interesting semi-Southern organization, recommended by Sam Francis in a recent column, has the same initials as FDR's socialist boondoggle: the CCC. But these letters, thank goodness, stand for the Council of Conservative Citizens. Membership is also $25, to P.O. Box 9863, St. Louis, Mo. 63122, and includes a subscription to the *Citizen's Informer*.

Tobacco is a proven fighter against Parkinson's disease, Alzheimer's disease, endometrial cancer, prostate cancer, osteoarthritis, colon cancer, alveolitis, and obesity.

Move Over, Gus

Black neocon Melvin Price (D.-Chicago), who—thanks to gerrymandering and massive outside funding—beat sexual harasser Gus Savage in the 1992 Congressional primary, is now in hot water himself. A young woman has accused him of seducing her when she was 16 years old. "I emphatically, categorically deny any and all allegations made by a sick and disturbed woman," said Price, blaming the charges on "racism."

Price, who is married and the father of three children, called the young woman, now 18, a "lesbian." Unfortunately for him, she has hotel charge slips and taped telephone conversations involving "their past sexual encounters," say Chicago police. (*New York Times*, 8/13/94)

Poor Babies

California prisons discriminate against the disabled, claims the Disability Rights Defense Fund in Berkeley, and so it has filed a civil rights suit to declare all of the state's prisons insensitive and therefore illegal, at a cost of billions to the taxpayers. Among the charges: "a paraplegic who complained that he couldn't carry his meal tray and simultaneously use his arms to push his wheelchair was told by prison officials to carry the tray on his lap." (*San Francisco Examiner*, 7/5/94)

Please Smoke

Smoking is good for you, points out Peter Brimelow in *Forbes* (7/4/94), or at least not all bad. For example, a "battery of studies" show that "cigarettes stimulate alertness, dexterity, and cognitive capacity." Cigarettes can also calm you, if puffed slowly.

Also calming: tobacco is a proven fighter against Parkinson's disease, Alzheimer's disease, endometrial cancer, prostate cancer, osteoarthritis, colon cancer, various lung diseases like alveolitis, and obesity.

The vast majority of the medical research that demonstrated these side-effects took place in Britain. Such studies aren't politically correct here.

Pssst, Want To Buy a Hang Tag?

In Arlington, Va., and other commuter destinations near Washington, D.C., "illegal use of handicapped permits by able-bodies workers looking for free, convenient parking is exploding," says the *Washington Post* (7/9/94). The hang tags, readily available on the black market in counterfeit and real form, allow free, all-day parking at meters. "Advocates for the disabled caution that some people who appear to be able-bodies have legitimate disabilities." But "within the disabled community, there is a lot of rancor against people who do abuse the system," said Ed Burke of the government's National Council on Disability. Unmentioned was the rancor against the perpetually empty handicapped parking spaces at malls, whose number is set by

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federal diktat.

Nags? Nah

"I was quite distressed after reading Mike Royko's" column on "food nags," Dr. Bari Bett of Arlington, Va., wrote to the *Washington Times* (8/14/94). It's an outrageous charge.

After all, a "greasy, sweet diet of junk food maims and kills people and wounds the survivors!" Consider two breakfasts: "a bowl of oatmeal or a mound of corned beef hash with two fried eggs on top, slathered in ketchup." You can eat the "tasty oatmeal" or get "open-heart surgery and early retirement on disability from greasy hash."

"Would you rather have a sip of sparkling spring water and a crispy rice wafer—or get impotent from eating greasy burgers? A scrap-meat hot dog leading to colon cancer" or "some fresh, crisp cauliflower? A flavorful pasta salad with tofu, or breast cancer from a bloody slab of prime rib oozing with grease?"

Do you want to snack on a banana, or on a Twinkie, leading to "diabetes and a foot amputation? How about a mug of beer and a bag of salty potato chips, leading to high blood pressure and a stroke that leaves you drooling, eating baby food, and wearing diapers?"

"How about a bowl of brown rice and fresh veggies, or a platter of greasy pork chops leading to a fatal heart attack just before your first grandchild is due?"

What a relief. No food nags here.

Bias Among the Enforcers?

"Focus groups" that discussed "why minority employees in the federal government are fired at a rate of almost three times that of white workers offered opinions that ranged from disbelief to outright racial bias to a lack of accountability of managers," says the *Washington Post* (8/8/94).

"The focus groups were assembled after the release last December of government statistics from fiscal 1992 showing that minority workers were fired at a rate of 10.2 per 1,000 employees, while whites were fired at the rate of 3.7 per 1,000 workers." Most firings of minorities involved "unexcused absences" or "threats of assault." ■

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